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Kung

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THE KIN TERMINOLOGY SYSTEM OF THE !KUNG BUSHMEN

LORNA MARSHALL

THE Peabody Harvard Kalahari Expedition, under the leadership of Laurence K. Marshall, has made four field trips between 1950 and 1955 into the Kalahari Desert in South West Africa and the Bechuanaland Protectorate to find and study Bushmen who were living in their own way, and not working for white farmers or for Negroes. The last of the four expeditions, that of 1955, was sponsored by the Smithsonian Institution as well as by the Peabody Museum of Harvard.

Our principal study was made with the /Kung Bushmen of the Nyae Nyae region of South West Africa. The Nyae Nyae region extends about 150 miles north and south, about 100 miles east and west, and is centred approximately at Gautscha Pan, which is located at *c.* 19° 48′ 30″ S. and 20° 34′ 36″ E. on the map of a survey of the area by the Administration of South West Africa dated 7.11.1935. The Nyae Nyae region is separated from the farmed areas of South West Africa by a stretch of waterless, uninhabited country over 100 miles wide.

We chose the /Kung of the Nyae Nyae region for concentrated study because they are the least acculturated Bushmen we found.[1] They are non-literate, nomadic hunters and gatherers, with no agriculture or domesticated animals. They are completely self-reliant

[1] On the expeditions we travelled extensively in South West Africa and the Bechuanaland Protectorate. The groups of Bushmen we encountered were, in addition to the /Kung of Nyae Nyae, /Kung outside the Nyae Nyae region at Karakuwise, Nuragas, Khadum, and at water holes south of Gum in South West Africa, and at Kai Kai, Kubi and other places along the western border of Bechuanaland, where Chwana and Herero have cattle posts; Makaukau and Naron near Ghanzi, B. P.; /Kõ at Okwa and at Barachu, about 50 and 100 miles south of Ghanzi respectively; /Gikwe about 100 miles south-east of Ghanzi in the trackless sandy plain that lies between Ghanzi and Molepolole, where during the dry season there is no water; and //Ganakwe still farther south, below Chukuds. We studied the kinship terminology of the /Kõ and /Gikwe; Professor L. F. Maingard, for a time a member of the 1955 expedition, studied the /Kõ language, which has the labial (fifth) click of the southern group.

Professor I. Schapera and Miss D. F. Bleek, in their Bushman studies, record information on these groups. For more data on the various names by which the groups are known and the areas in which they were found and the language groups into which Miss Bleek's studies place them, see especially Schapera, *The Khoisan Peoples of South Africa*, New York, 1951, pp. 31 ff., and Bleek, D. F., 'The Distribution of Bushman Languages in South Africa', *Festschrift Meinhof*, pp. 55 ff.

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648 self-reliant. No European farms or institutions such as hospitals, schools, missions, trading posts, labour-recruiting or tax-collecting offices have been established in the Nyae Nyae region. The first government official to go into the region, Mr. Claude McIntyre, Senior Welfare Officer of the Administration of South West Africa, came with our first expedition to Gautscha Pan in 1951. The contact of the /Kung of this region with the neighbouring Bantu-speaking Negro tribes consists of occasional trading trips or visits to their Bushman relatives who are working for Chwana or Herero in western Bechuanaland.

123 We lived for seventeen months with the /Kung of Nyae Nyae; for six weeks in 1951, for fourteen consecutive months in 1952–3, for six weeks again in 1955.

115 During this time we had several interpreters. We wish to express our gratitude particularly to two, Ngani and Kernel Ledimo, who had an exceptionally intelligent grasp of our purposes and problems and whose work was patient and precise. Ngani (this is his own preferred spelling of his name) is a Heikum Bushman who lived for many years with Mr. Courtney Clark in Grootfontein. Among the nine languages Ngani speaks are /Kung and English. Kernel Ledimo is a Chwana of the Batwana tribe who grew up among /Kung Bushmen on his father's cattle posts and was educated in an English school in Bechuanaland.

121 We made the kinship terminology of the /Kung in the Nyae Nyae region a subject
184 of special study. Our investigation of the /Kō and /Gikwe kinship terminology shows that there is not one system common to all Bushman groups. This paper deals only with the /Kung system.

124 Our method of study was first to take genealogies of the members of six bands, comprising about 175 persons. This took a good deal of time but was rewarding as a background which helped us to place in their web of relationships most of the 600
[123] /Kung in the Nyae Nyae region whom we came eventually to know by sight or name as we travelled about or as they visited us.

124 After we had gathered the genealogical material we began to ask people what
601 kinship terms they used for each other. We asked many informants, going over and over the same questions. The terms for parents, offspring, and siblings were easily learned. But the terms for grandparents, grandchildren, and all collaterals threw us into confusion. For each grandparent or grandchild, of either sex, we found that a person might use one of two terms (and one of these has an alternate); and a person might use one of three terms for each collateral, with an alternate, a diminutive, and a distinction man-speaking and woman-speaking to complicate matters. The same term might be applied to relatives on either the paternal or maternal side. We did not know for some time what factor determined, for instance, whether a person applied the term *a* or *b* to his FaFa or MoFa or the term *a*, *b*, or *c* to his FaBr, MoBr or some other collateral. When we asked we were usually told, ' It is our custom ', but one informant gravely explained that ' God created people and told them what terms to use for each other. Parents have taught their children ever since what terms to use.' It was ≠Toma, perhaps our most intelligent informant, who at last figured out what it was we did not understand and told us what he had assumed everyone knew, that the term ' followed the name '. In other words there is a factor, which we finally called the factor of the name, which under certain circumstances determines what term the individual uses. We began afresh to gather information to understand and

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test this factor and eventually we learned that there are two aspects to the /Kung system of kin terminology. In one terms are applied according to the biological position of the persons; in the other terms are applied because persons are classified with others by having the same names, in ways this paper will explain. The factor of the name has resulted in kin terms being applied by persons who have no consanguineous or affinal ties, but who are considered to be related through the factor of the name in what we call the name-relationship.

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Miss Bleek in her paper on ' Bushman Terms of Relationship '[1] has recorded /Kung terms. Students of the subject interested in comparing her paper with this will find them in agreement to a considerable extent, but Miss Bleek's paper does not go so deeply into the terminology as this does nor does it bring out the significance of the factor of the name.[2]

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Our material on /Kung kin terminology is presented in two parts. (I) The first part (A) deals with terms applied to consanguineous kin, and explains the factor of the name and the way the application of terms is extended through the factor of the name to persons who have no consanguineous or affinal ties, in what we call the name-relationship; and (B) deals with terms applied to affines. (II) The second part deals with certain aspects of behaviour related to kin terminology, touching briefly upon marriage prohibitions and preferences from the point of view of terminology. It deals more fully with the joking relationship, an aspect of behaviour which relates closely to terminological categories. The paper finally touches upon the way the name-relationship serves as an amalgamating factor within a whole region among people who have no larger organized social units than autonomous bands, small ones of 10–15 persons up to large ones of 40–60 persons, composed of consanguineous kin and their affines.

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Space does not permit here a description of the composition of bands, but we hope in a future publication to give data on the family and bands, on hunting and veldkos territories, marriage, residence, settlement patterns, and on the behaviour among kin in forming hunting and gathering parties, arrow-lending, meat-sharing, gift-giving, &c.

[1] D. F. Bleek, 'Bushman Terms of Relationship', *Bantu Studies*, vol. ii (1923–6), pp. 57–70.

[2] Miss Bleek (ibid.) sometimes gives the descriptive phrase in place of, or in addition to, the term, as if we should say father's brother or mother's brother instead of uncle. For instance, *ba siy* is a descriptive phrase meaning father's younger brother or younger sister. There are differences of spelling. We should like to follow Miss Bleek's spelling, but we put down as best we could what we heard and cannot change over to her spelling because in the different areas the Bushmen's pronunciation may possibly have varied slightly. There are some terms given by Miss Bleek which we did not hear in the Nyae Nyae region. The /Kung of Nyae Nyae do not use the term *tsau* for Br. We did not hear *||ge*, nor *soiŋ||ge*, nor *tsa* as a prefix to *siy*. Otherwise the terms we record are recognizable as the same terms which Miss Bleek records. Miss Bleek, on the other hand, does not record all the terms which we record as used in the Nyae Nyae area. The principal difference lies, we think, in her not taking into account the factor of the name. We think she had an inkling of there being such a factor among the /Kung she worked with, for she says they had a word */ku* which she thought meant ' kinsman ' or 'namesake '. In any case, she does not show all the terms which in the Nyae Nyae region might be applied to grandparents, grandchildren and collaterals on both the paternal and maternal sides. A detailed comparison of the papers would show several examples, but one will suffice to illustrate the point. Miss Bleek records the terms for FaBr, *tsu*, and MoBr, *tsou||ge*, giving the impression that the /Kung system makes a terminological distinction between the paternal and maternal siblings, whereas we found that in the Nyae Nyae area both terms, *tsu* and *tsou||ge*, might be used for either FaBr or MoBr, and, besides, that the sibling term, elder Br, might also be used for FaBr or MoBr, as will be explained.

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Part I: /Kung Kin Terminology

Some General Principles

601 1. Terminologically no two persons may be simultaneously interrelated in more than one way. Persons may change their terminological relationship by marriage or, under some circumstances, by having their names changed, but when this occurs the former terminological relationship is supplanted by the latter.

2. Except in the relationship of Hu, Wi, DaHu, and WiFa, the relative biological age of any two persons applying kin terms to each other is almost invariably indicated. Either the terms *per se* imply relative age, as do the terms for biological father and son, or the term has a diminutive form which is applied by the older person to the younger.

3. The same terms are used both in address and in reference, except the term for Mo, which has a vocative form as well. In reference, but not in address, the possessive adjective precedes the term, as for instance *mi !ha*, my son. In address children usually double the terms; they say, for example, *tsu tsu*, ' uncle uncle '. The exception to this is the vocative form of the term for Mo which we did not hear doubled.

4. It is to be assumed that the terms are the same, man-speaking (m.s.) and woman-speaking (w.s.), unless the contrary is indicated.

5. In the description of the /Kung kinship system, when we use the English terms without designating relationships more specifically it is because our terminology fits the /Kung system. When we say grandparents we mean precisely to include FaFa, MoFa, FaMo, and MoMo. The terms uncle and aunt include siblings of both of ego's parents and the spouses of those siblings. The /Kung make no distinction between paternal and maternal cousins, nor between cross and parallel cousins, so one can conveniently use the term cousin to include FaBrSo, FaBrDa, FaSiSo, FaSiDa, MoBrSo, MoBrDa, MoSiSo, MoSiDa. When we use the terms nephew and niece we include BrSo, SiSo, BrDa, SiDa.

It will be useful for analytical purposes to distinguish two constellations of ' kin ' terminology which we shall refer to as System A and System B. System A is applied to consanguineous kin and to persons classified with them by being named for and by having the same name as consanguineous kin and, in the case of spouses of collaterals, by being married to consanguineous kin. System B is applied to affines.

System A

We distinguish three categories of terms within System A. Category one comprises *parent–child terms*; category two, *sibling terms*; category three comprises two pairs of terms, with an alternate to one of the terms, woman-speaking, making five terms in all. We shall refer to the terms of category three as *generational terms*.[1]

[1] Professor Douglas Oliver, who kindly read and criticized the manuscript, helped us with many excellent suggestions for which we are most grateful. It was he who suggested, among other things, the designation ' generational terms ' for this category, and pointed out the generational structure.

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Here are the parent–child terms:[1]

Fa	ba (b^{h}a)[2]
Mo	dai[3] (t^{h}ai)
Mo (voc.)	aiya (āiya)
So	/ha (ŋ/^{h}a)
Da	≠khai (ŋ≠kxai)

These terms are subject to no modification. They are used by a person for no other relatives than his biological parents or offspring and no other terms can be applied in these relationships.

Sibling terms are as follows:

elder Br	/go (/o)
elder Si	/kwi (/kwi)
younger Br or Si	tsī (tsĭ)

The above terms are used for both full and half siblings. These terms are fixed to the sibling relationship in the sense that no other terms replace them under any condition; but, unlike the parent–child terms which are applied to no other relationship, the sibling terms are under certain circumstances extended to other relationships than that of biological sibling.

The generational terms are as follows:

Applied to males	*Applied to females*
tsu (tsū)	ǁga (gǁ^{h}a)
/gu/na (/uŋ/^{h}a)	tũn (txũŋ)
tun/ga w.s. (txuŋ.g/a) alternate to /gu/na	

The terms are reciprocal. If a male ego applies the term *tsu* to a man, he is termed *tsu* by that man. Or, if a male ego terms a woman *ǁga*, she terms him *tsu*. It is the same with the */gu/na–tũn* pair.

The above statements are subject to the qualification that, when using these terms, the older person invariably uses a diminutive form for the younger person. We shall list the diminutives here, and then, to avoid being cumbersome, omit them henceforth throughout the text. The diminutive is expressed by adding the suffix *ma*,

[1] The spelling of the Bushman terms used in this paper is an approximation. We represented the Bushman sounds as we heard them as nearly as we could without using symbols except for the clicks. The four clicks are symbolized as follows: dental /, alveolar ≠, alveolar palatal /, and lateral ǁ.

[2] Mr. Ernst Westphal of the School of Oriental and African Studies of the University of London, when he visited our expedition at Gautscha Pan, took down the terms in phonetic symbols as /Kung informants pronounced them. We give his symbols in parentheses the first time the term is given. We wish to express our gratitude to him.

[3] Mr. Westphal spells the term for Mo with a *t* (t^{h}ai), as does Miss Bleek (*tai*). Professor Clement M. Doke, in his outline of the phonetics of the language of the /Kung, *Bantu Studies*, vol. ii (1923–6), pp. 130–65, on p. 150 spells it *ǂai*. We feel apologetic about insisting on *dai*, but we thought we heard the voiced sound *d*. We wondered if the *d* derived from *di* which means female and occurs in the term *di/gumo* which is applied to persons who have the same name as one's mother (cf. p. 9).

601 'young' or 'small', to the term. In some instances the diminutives used man-speaking are derived from different terms from those used woman-speaking.

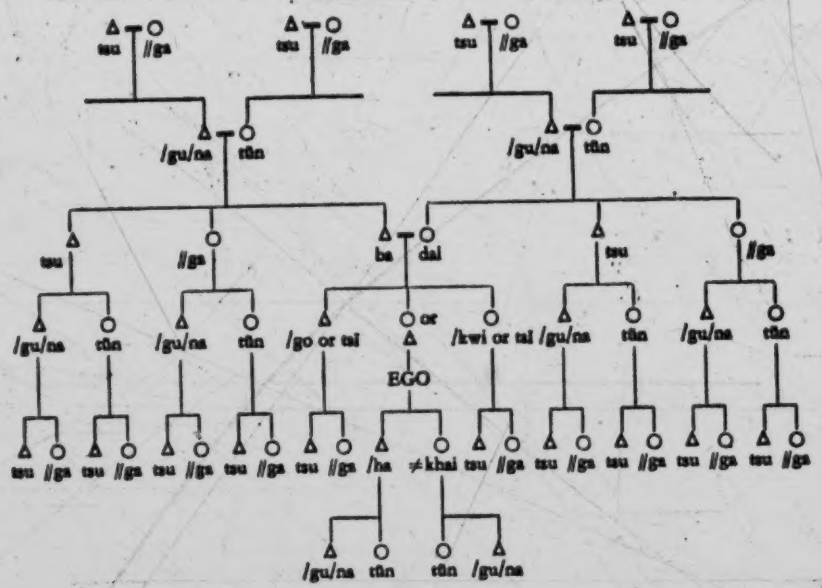
Term	*Diminutive*
Applied to males	
tsu	tsuma m.s. w.s. (tsûm^{h}a)
/gu/na	/guma m.s. (/ûm^{h}a) toma w.s. (txwôm^{h}a)
tun/ga w.s.	toma w.s.
Applied to females	
tũn	toma m.s. /guma w.s.
//ga	tsuma m.s. //gama w.s. (g//^{h}am^{h}a)

The generational terms may apply to all lineal kin and to all collateral kin save those related by parent–child or sibling ties.

Ego applies the terms */gu/na* (or *tsu/ga* w.s.) and *tũn* to persons in his own generation and in generations alternate with his own; he applies *tsu* and *//ga* to persons in generations adjacent to his own or alternate with these latter.

Thus System A appears as in Diagram 1.

DIAGRAM 1



Terms for lineal and collateral relatives may be continued into the descending generations, alternating as in the ascending generations.

We have already stated that the generational terms *may* apply to all collateral kin 601
and to all lineal kin save those related by parent–child or sibling ties. Up to now we have been assuming, for the sake of orderly procedure, that a /Kung Bushman applies these terms, in the manner specified, to all consanguineous kin solely according to his *biological* position among them. This assumption is correct with respect to the parent–child and sibling relationships; in these instances the biological tie is the sole basis for classifying relatives. But for all other consanguineous relatives, as well as for many other persons besides, a factor other than the biological tie may determine the nature of the terminological relationship. We refer to *the factor of the name*.

The principle underlying the factor of the name is that persons who share the same name occupy identical positions in certain sectors of the kinship constellation we have called System A. Based on this principle, a method of classifying persons terminologically has been developed. We shall refer to this method as the *homonymous method*, and distinguish it from the *generational method* as set out in Diagram 1.

When it comes into conflict with the generational method, the homonymous method takes precedence. It has been developed and extended in the /Kung system more [184]
fully than in the /Gikwe and /Kõ systems, where it exists, but where it has remained minor, and is practised only among persons who do not have consanguineous or affinal ties. The /Kung, on the other hand, make wide use of the homonymous method.

The complicated system by which terms are applied in this method will be ex- 551
plained step by step, but first the customs followed by the /Kung in the naming of children will be described.

1. The /Kung have no surnames.

2. Names are sex-linked, hence men and women never have the same name.

3. Parent and child must not bear the same name in /Kung culture. The /Kung said it would be madness for a man to name a son for himself or a daughter for her mother. Our genealogies of about 175 /Kung show no deviation from this rule.

4. Children are always named for relatives, either consanguineous or affinal, 553
although they may bear the name of a non-related person as a second name. They are named for someone in the first or second ascending generation.

5. Fathers have the right to name both sons and daughters. A man invariably names his first-born son for his father (i.e. the child's FaFa) and his first-born daughter for his mother (i.e. the child's FaMo). If he has more than one wife, he names the first-born son and daughter of each wife for his father and mother respectively. Thus siblings, though they are not named for each other, often bear the same name, having been named for the same person. A man usually but not invariably names his second-born son for the child's MoFa and second-born daughter for her MoMo. Fifty-one per cent. of the /Kung in our records are named for their grandparents. Subsequent children are usually named for the siblings of their father or mother, or for the spouses of those siblings. Very rarely is a child named for other relatives. We have recorded two named for cousins of their parents. It is not their custom, /Kung informants told us, for them to name their children for the children's great-grandparents or for the siblings of the children's grandparents.

6. We have recorded about 46 men's names and about 41 women's names in use [551]
among the 600 people we know in the Nyae Nyae region.

553 7. Names are occasionally changed.
[551] 8. Nicknames are in common use. They are usually descriptive of physical characteristics, such as Gow Umbilicus or Gow Beard.

553 601 It must be kept in mind, as the description of the homonymous method of applying terms proceeds, that the /Kung distinguish between being named for, and having the same name as, a person. When one is named for someone, one is brought into the kinship constellation of that person. Merely fortuitously having the same name as someone does not do this to the same degree. We shall at first limit the description to situations where one is *named for* another.

A child is, as we have said, never named for a parent, nor is a child named for a sibling (though they may have the same name). In these categories of relationship, therefore, the homonymous method of applying terms is not operative. In other categories of relationship, however, when a person is named for another, he is, with respect to ego, terminologically taken out of his biological category and classified in the category of the person for whom he is named. Ego applies a term to him according to his homonymous classification.

There are three categories, with respect to ego, into which persons may be classified by their names. (1) The parent–child category: Although ego is never named for his parent, some of his relatives will be. (Some of his nephews and nieces, for example, would certainly be named for ego's Fa or Mo.) When this occurs, ego applies a term to that person which classifies the person with the parent of ego's for whom he or she was named. The terms are *tsu* applied to males, *||ga* applied to females. The terms *ba* and *dai* are applied, as we have said, only to the biological parents. The terms *tsu* and *||ga* are the terms applied to persons in generations adjacent to ego's (i.e. his parents' generation, cf. Diagram 1, p. 6), and are the terms used to classify persons terminologically in the parent category. The same terms would be used for persons named for ego's offspring who again would be terminologically classified as in adjacent generations with respect to ego. (2) The sibling category: If a person is named for ego's sibling, ego classifies him or her terminologically with that sibling and applies the sibling term, i.e. */go* (elder Br), */kwi* (elder Si) or *tsī* (younger Br or younger Si). (3) Ego's category: We consider that the third category is basically ego's category and that it includes persons who are classified by name or generation with ego. Persons may be classified in this category by being named for ego, or for ego's spouse, who is of the same terminological generation as ego. The person for whom ego is named and the spouse of that person are in this category. The way people are classified within it will be brought out as the description proceeds, but more information must first be given about the terms associated with it, namely: */gu!na* (*tsun!ga* w.s.) and *tūn*.

The term */gu!na*, unlike any of the other terms, so far as we know, is a translateable word. */Gu*[1] means name, */na* means big or old. The diminutive which derives from the term is */guma*, small or young name. As terms */gu!na* and */guma* always occur modified with the augmentative or diminutive suffix, never simply as */gu*, the word for name.

[114 194] [1] This is undoubtedly the word which Miss Bleek heard as */ku* (cf. 'Bushman Terms of Relationship', p. 62). It seemed to us particularly difficult to determine, when a word began with the alveolar palatal click, whether the consonant release was voiced or unvoiced. We have two opinions here, Miss Bleek's */ku* and our */gu*. Mr. Westphal hears no consonant, i.e. */ũ*.

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Another term is derived from *!gu*, i.e. *di!guma*. *Di* means female, *!guma* small or young name. *Di!guma* is applied, m.s. and w.s., only to women who have the same name as one's mother and is an alternate to *//ga* in this one sense.

When the generational method of applying terms was described we saw *!gu!na* applied, m.s. and w.s., in ego's generation and the generations of ego's grandfather and grandson, to males only. Woman-speaking, as a generational term *!gu!na* had an alternate, *tun!ga*, which was preferred. *Tũn* is the term applied to females associated with these generations.

When the homonymous method is used the term *!gu!na*, or its diminutive *!guma*, is applied by a male to a male, and by a female to a female. Ego applies the term to persons named for him and to the person for whom he is named. He also applies the term to persons who have the same name as himself, but who are not named for him, with two exceptions: (1) siblings, though they are not named for each other, frequently have the same name, being named for the same person. When this occurs the sibling terms are retained, taking precedence over the term *!gu!na*; and (2) in certain affinal relationships the affinal term is retained even though ego and the affine have the same name (see p. 16).

In addition the terms applied to persons named for ego's spouse are *!gu!na* (or *tun!ga* w.s.) or *tũn*. The affinal terms for spouse are used only for ego's actual spouse. Persons named for the spouse, who is terminologically of ego's generation, have the generational terms applied to them which classify them with ego's generation.

The term *tũn* is applied to a woman who is the spouse of any male whom ego terms *!gu!na* (or *tun!ga* w.s.). *Tun!ga* is the term applied to the spouse of a woman whom a female ego terms *!gu!na*.

Kin who are named for ego's parents or offspring, for his siblings, or for himself or his spouse constitute the basis but not the limit of classification of kin by the homonymous method. Other kin in ego's and in the *descending* generations are classified by ego into the same three categories if they have been named for the kin who were originally so classified. For example, ego applies the term *tsu* to A because A was named for ego's Fa, and he continues to apply the term *tsu* to persons who are named for A, and so forth.

To understand how the method works in the *ascending* generations we must look at the same three categories from another point of view, seeing ego classified with the person for whom he is named, i.e. his *!gu!na*. Ego's *!gu!na*'s parents use the term *tsu* (the 'adjacent' generational term) for a male ego, *//ga* for a female ego, because ego is named for their offspring. Ego's *!gu!na*'s So and Da use the terms *tsu* or *//ga* for ego because ego is named for their parent. Ego's *!gu!na*'s siblings apply a sibling term to ego because he is named for their sibling. And ego's *!gu!na*'s spouse uses the generational terms which place ego in the same generation as the spouse—i.e. *!gu!na* (or *tun!ga* w.s.) or *tũn*, classifying ego with the spouse because he is named for the spouse. In each case ego reciprocates.

It will be more convenient to keep ego's point of view in our illustrations and to express the situation from ego's angle, stating that ego applies the term *tsu* or *//ga* to his *!gu!na*'s Fa, Mo, So, and Da; *!go*, *!kwi* or *tsĩ*, the sibling terms, to his *!gu!na*'s siblings; and *!gu!na* (or *tun!ga* w.s.) or *tũn* to his *!gu!na*'s spouse.

Diagrams will be given to illustrate the homonymous method of applying terms,

Diagrams will be given to illustrate the homonymous method of applying terms, but they do not illustrate a typical family. No Bushman family we know has as many living children as in Diagram 4. Bushmen are completely nomadic and must carry their young children and all their possessions, walking seventy or eighty miles or more as they move from one wild crop of roots or nuts to another. They limit, by infanticide, the number of infants to those they can carry and care for. ≠Toma, one of our informants, helping me one day to construct one of these hypothetical illustrations, laughed and said, 'Who is this who has so many children? Is it an ostrich?'

DIAGRAM 2

In this illustration ego's */gu/na* is his FaFa. Ego's FaBr and FaSi are the So and Da of his */gu/na*. They and ego use the adjacent generational terms, *tsu* and *//ga*, for each other.

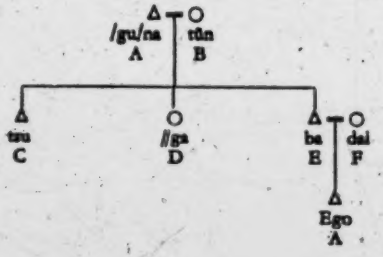
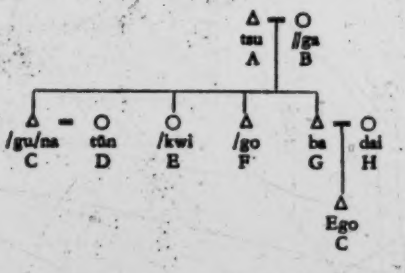


DIAGRAM 3

Here ego is named for his FaBr. In this case ego's FaFa is ego's */gu/na*'s Fa and ego's FaMo is his */gu/na*'s Mo; *tsu* and *//ga* are the terms used. Ego's FaBr and FaSi are the Br and Si of ego's */gu/na*; the sibling terms are used. Ego applies the term *tûn* to the wife of his */gu/na*.



Diagrams 2 and 3 illustrate ego's application of terms to members of his */gu/na*'s family. Letters represent names. A person who is designated by the same letter as a person in a generation above him has been named for that person. The naming is customary and correct as far as it goes. Some of the children would be named for their mother's parents or siblings, but, as those persons would be ego's affines, until the affinal terms are given this aspect of the illustrations will be postponed.

There is a secondary application of the terms originally applied by ego to members of his */gu/na*'s nuclear family and spouse. Ego applies terms to persons who are named for the latter, and continues during his lifetime applying to persons descending from

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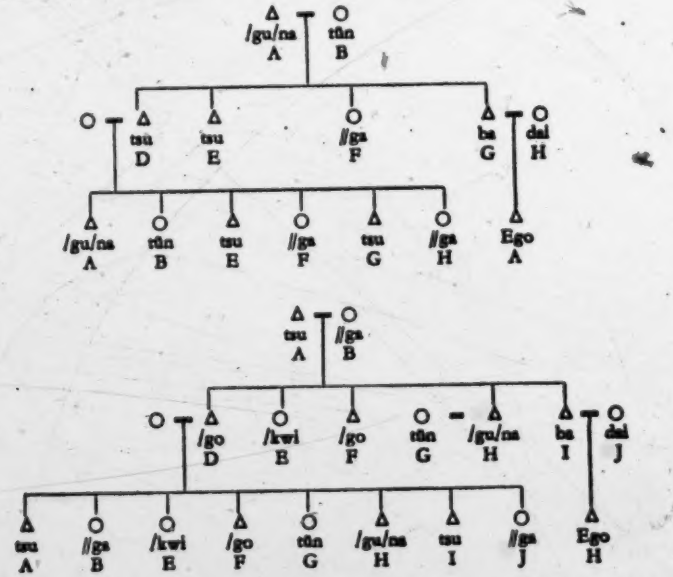
his */gu/na*'s nuclear family the same terms that he applied to the persons for whom they were named. Diagram 4 illustrates this point. 601

DIAGRAM 4

Diagram 4 shows terms applied to cousins. In the first instance ego is named for his FaFa, in the second for his FaBr.



Diagrams 5 and 6 show how the homonymous method appears when ego applies terms to persons who are named for himself and his own parents, children, siblings, and spouse, and to the persons who are named for them.

We have been assuming up to this point in the illustrations that ego is named for someone on his father's side of the family. What has been said about the paternal side would be applicable to the maternal side if ego were named for someone on that side. We shall refer to either the paternal or maternal side as the *off-side* if it does not include the person for whom ego is named. Diagram 7 illustrates the application of terms on the off-side. 553 601

Unless a person is terminologically taken out of his biological generation through the factor of the name, the terms applied by the generational method are retained.

Grandparents on the off-side are always termed */gu/na* (or */tsu/ga* w.s.) and *tũn*, or, since they are biologically older, it is more precise to say that they apply the term */gu/na* or */tsu/ga* to a male ego, *tũn* to a female ego, and that ego reciprocates. These are the generational terms applied in the generational method, retained because ego is not named for the parent or child of his off-side grandparents, which would require the term *tsu* or *//ga* to be applied. 601

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DIAGRAM 5

601 Diagram 5 shows what terms ego would apply to nephews and nieces, children of his brother D, if the children were named, as they customarily would be, for ego's Fa, Mo, and his siblings. The illustration also shows the terms and the names carried, linked together, into the descending generation. (We use two affinal terms here, BrWi, *tûn*, and Wi, *tsau*. Cf. p. 16.)

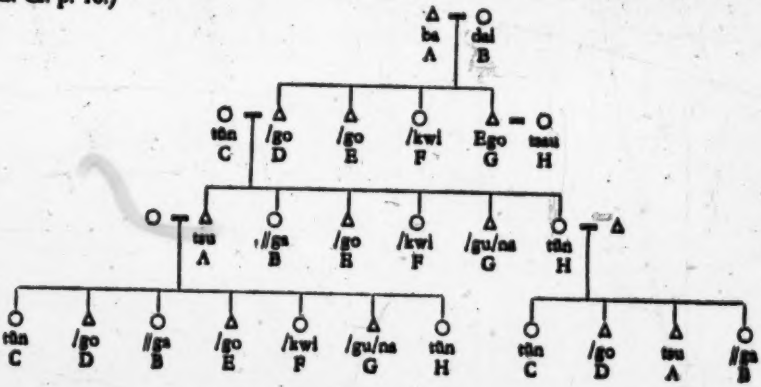

DIAGRAM 6

In Diagram 6 it is assumed, for variety, that ego is a woman. The illustration shows what terms she would apply to her grandchildren if they were named, as they customarily would have been named, by their Fa, ego's son C.

It can be seen in Diagram 6 how it is that grandparents and grandchildren do not fall into the sibling category with respect to each other and are never, therefore, termed */go* and */kwi*, but always */gu/na* (or *tun/ga* w.s.) and *tûn* or *tsu* and *//ga*. For ego to use the sibling terms [553] for a grandchild, that child would have to be named for ego's Br or Si. This, the /Kung told us, is not their custom.

Ego, being a woman in this illustration, uses the term */gu/na* for her granddaughter A who is named for her. (We remind the reader that, for the sake of brevity, we are omitting diminutive forms. Actually */guna* is the form of the term used for the younger person.) Ego's grandson B is named for ego's husband. */Hoa* is the term for the actual husband. The term */gu/na* is used for someone named for one's husband.

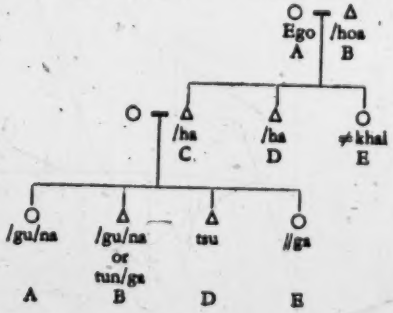

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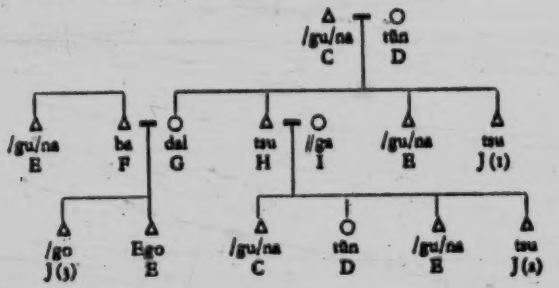
Diagram 7 assumes that ego's uncles H and J (1) retain the 'adjacent' generational 601
term *tsu* for ego for the same reason, namely, that in this case the factor of the name requires no other. Ego's maternal uncle E applies the term */gu/na* to ego because he and ego have the same name.

Whereas ego applies the term */gu/na* to anyone either named for or having the same [553]
name as himself, in other relationships a distinction is made between being named for someone and merely having the same name. In Diagram 7 it is to be noted that, although ego has a brother named J (3), he does not apply the sibling terms to J (1) or J (2). J (1), assumed to be older than ego, established the term used between them, which is the 'adjacent' generational term *tsu*. As J (2) is named for J (1), not for ego's Br, ego uses the term *tsu* for J (2). He would use the sibling term for someone named for his brother.

DIAGRAM 7

Ego is named for his FaBr E. This diagram shows terms applied to the side of the family which does not include the person for whom ego is named. Ego is assumed to be younger than his uncles and aunts and older than his cousins.



There is one further complexity which may beset the student of /Kung kin termino- 553
logy in his effort to understand the principles upon which the application of terms 601
is based. Names may be changed and, when they are, the person is reclassified and the kin terms applied to him or her are changed accordingly. One blazing hot day in the werft I heard old Hama call her little granddaughter *//gama* (diminutive of *//ga*). I felt the whole system, which had caused me so much difficulty and confusion, begin to swirl and dissolve into formlessness, for the child was named for old Hama and, if I understood the system at all, old Hama must call that child */guma* (diminutive of */gu/na*). I fanned myself with my helmet, kept my voice low and asked old Hama if I had heard correctly. 'Oh, yes,' she said. Little Hama's name had been changed, she told me. Her son Gao, the other day when his sister was visiting, had decided to give his sister's name to his daughter instead of old Hama's. Now she and her little granddaughter were *//ga* and *//gama* to each other. Old Hama said she was very disappointed. I was not. I took a deep breath and went on to the next task.

The Name-Relationship

In the /Kung kinship system, generational and sibling terms are applied to persons who have no consanguineous or affinal ties with ego if they have the same names as

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553 601 ego or his kin or affines. We shall refer to this aspect of the kinship system as the name-relationship.

Among name-relatives, as among consanguineous relatives, it is the biologically older person who classifies the younger with respect to his (the older's) kinship constellation, using the diminutive form of the term for the younger person. The younger person reciprocates.

551 553 601 One of the factors in the name-relationship is an ancestral list of names to which terms are linked. Each /Kung has his own individual list to learn, taught to him by his parents and his *!gu!na*. No one could tell us exactly how the list is compiled, but the theory which lies behind the list is that there were among ego's forbears persons whose names required certain terms. (One surmises they were great-grandparents and their siblings and the siblings of grandparents, &c. or perhaps still earlier generations.) Name-relatives who have these names may have had some distant consanguineous connexions. Ego no longer knows, but the old people knew, and in following their teaching ego knows he is following his proper homonymous pattern. Every informant had such a list and told us what term he linked with every name we knew. Some had more than one term linked with a name. ≠Toma used the term *tũn* for women named Khwova who came from the Gum region and */kwi* for Khwovas from the north. His parents, he said, told him to do this.

553 601 There is a system of applying terms to name-relatives. Ego is in the place of first priority in the sense that invariably the term *!gu!na* is applied to any name-relative having the same name as himself. Furthermore, ego applies terms to the Fa, Mo, So, Da, sibling and spouse of a *!gu!na* who is a name-relative having the same name as himself, as he does in the case of the person for whom he is named. However, this is carried no further. He does not apply terms to persons named for these name-relatives and he does not apply terms to the nuclear family and spouse of a person he terms *!gu!na* unless the *!gu!na* has the same name as himself.

The term *!su* is invariably applied to any male name-relative who has the same name as ego's Fa, *||ga* or *di|guma* to any female name-relative with the same name as ego's Mo.

[114 551] There are gaps in our knowledge at this point; confusion in the data was not resolved. We think, but are not certain, that next in order comes the ancestral list, taking precedence over siblings, children and spouses as a source of terms to apply to name-relatives. We think the terms applied to name-relatives derive mainly from the ascending generations, except *!gu!na*, applied to persons with the same name as ego's. To illustrate, take a man named Bo. Unless Bo is ego's name, or the name of ego's Fa, ego would use for Bo the term which was linked to the name Bo on his ancestral list. We think that, even if Bo were the name of ego's Br or the Hu of a female ego, the sibling or spouse term would not take precedence over the term linked with the name Bo on the ancestral list. We are certain that the ancestral list does take precedence over ego's children as a source of terms for name-relatives.

[551] We have been assuming that the name occurs on the ancestral list. If a person should come along whose name was not on his ancestral list, but was the same as one of ego's consanguineous kin or affines, ego would apply the term to that person which he applies to the consanguineous kin or affine. (In the case of an affine ego would use a kin term corresponding to the affinal term, not the affinal

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term itself. Cf. System B, p. 16.) We know of no rule to prevent a name-relative being classified with any consanguineous kin or affine should his name not be on ego's ancestral list.

Supposing a name did not occur on ego's ancestral list but did occur several times among his contemporary consanguineous kin and affines, the question arises as to which kinsman or affine would be the one with whom ego would classify a person of that name. We have no precise data on this point, but we think that consanguinity takes precedence over affinity, or the near over the more distant relationship.

The spouses of kin are always paired terminologically with the kin (see p. 18), but this is not true of name-relatives. Ego establishes the name-relationship with each person of a married couple individually. It was in this connexion that we learnt of an aspect of the /Kung system which has not yet been mentioned.

Informants told us that ego may apply a term to the parents and children of an individual name-relative on the generational basis, if he has no term established by his ancestral list. If ego's term for a man is */gu/na* he may apply the term *tsu* to that man's Fa and So, observing the same alternation of the terms */gu/na* and *tsu* that is apparent in Diagram 1.

In this connexion informants told us furthermore that ' boys follow their fathers, girls follow their mothers ', meaning that a son is classified with respect to his father and a daughter with respect to her mother. Assuming that ego applies the term *tũũ* to a woman, he could apply the term */ga* to her Mo and Da. If ego applied the term *tsu* to that woman's Hu, he would use the term */gu/na* for her HuFa and for her So.

We think ego would use this method only if the parent or child of the name-relative had a name for which ego had no term. The /Kung in the Nyae Nyae region had so many name links that we did not observe people applying terms to parents and children of name-relatives in this manner.

601

There are a few additional terms to be mentioned. Co-wives of polygynous marriages use the terms */kwi*, elder Si, and *tsī*, younger Si, for each other, unless they have the same name, in which case they retain the term */gu/na*.

[595]

Step-father is *ba-tsu*, step-mother is *dai-/ga*, step-son is */ha-tsu*, and step-daughter is *≠khai-/ga*.

Mama is a word, heard often, which is not strictly a kinship term. It is applied m.s. and w.s. to any male or female when people wish to express pleasure, gratitude, or affection and it includes an element of respect. It is applied so frequently to grandparents that it becomes almost an alternate to the terms.

[576]

System B

601

The second constellation of kin terms applies to affines. Whereas a person ' enters ' System A initially by way of biological ties and/or homonymy, he ' enters ' System B by way of marital ties—of himself, of his offspring and of his siblings.

We shall designate as ' primary ' certain affinal relationships which have a factor in common, namely: terms applied in these relationships are linked to the relationship, as the parent and child terms are linked to those relationships; nothing changes them. The method of homonymy is not practised. Furthermore, when a person comes into one of the primary affinal relationships with ego, ego drops whatever term he

601 previously used and adopts the term which is linked to the affinal relationship, even if the person has the same name as himself.

The primary affinal relationships comprise: the spouses of siblings; ego's spouse; the parents and siblings of ego's spouse, and the spouses of the latter; the spouses of ego's offspring and their parents.

Three pairs of terms are applied exclusively to affines: (1) */hoa* (man), Hu, and *tsau* (woman), Wi (these have no diminutives); (2) *≠tum* (≠ᵗum), dim. *≠tumma* (rare), and */utsu* (/'utsu), dim. */utsuma*; and (3) */umba* (ŋ/um.ba), dim. */umbama* and */undai* (ŋ/un.tʰai), dim. */undaima*. The diminutives are not always used among affines. The older person sometimes uses the term itself for the younger.

	Applied to males			*Applied to females*	
	Affinal term	*Term applied to kin named for affine*		*Affinal term*	*Term applied to kin named for affine*
		Ego's generation			
Hu	/hoa	/gu/na w.s. *or* tun/ga w.s.	Wi	tsau	tũn
SoWiFa, DaHuFa	/umba	/gu/na *or* tun/ga w.s.	SoWiMo, DaHuMo	/undai	tũn
		Generations adjacent to ego's			
HuFa, WiFa, DaHu	≠tum	tsu	HuMo, WiMo, SoWi	/utsu	//ga
		The sibling category			
SiHu	tun/ga m.s. tun/ga w.s.	tsu m.s. /gu/na w.s. *or* tun/ga w.s.	BrWi	tũn m.s. /utsu w.s.	tũn m.s. //ga w.s.
HuBr	tun/ga w.s.	/gu/na w.s. *or* tun/ga w.s.	HuBrWi	/kwi w.s.	/kwi w.s.
WiSiHu	/go m.s.	/go m.s.	WiSi	tũn m.s.	tũn m.s.
WiBr	tun/ga m.s.	tsu m.s.	WiBrWi	/utsu m.s.	//ga m.s.
HuSiHu	≠tum w.s.	tsu w.s.	HuSi	/utsu w.s.	//ga w.s.

The term *tun/ga* is applied exclusively to affines, man-speaking. Woman-speaking, *tun/ga* is used as a generational term, an alternate to */gu/na*, and is also applied to affines. (The diminutive of *tun/ga* is *tun/gama* m.s. and *toma* w.s.) The generational term *tũn* m.s., and the sibling terms are also used for affines.

Consanguineous kin of ego's may be named for any of the primary affines, for instance, his grandchildren for his SoWiFa or SoWiMo, &c. The exclusively affinal terms are not used for those consanguineous kin, but generational or sibling terms are used which correspond with the affinal terms. The reason for the correspondence between the terms will become apparent when we discuss the joking relationship later on (see pp. 19, 20). The terms are listed below. The siblings of spouses show a 'cross' and 'parallel' pattern. The sibling who is the same sex as ego's spouse corresponds to the */gu/na* (or *tun/ga* w.s.)–*tũn* category, the sibling of opposite sex corresponds to the *tsu–//ga* category. Spouses of ego's spouse's siblings correspond in the same way. An informant explained the use of the sibling term */go* for WiSiHu,

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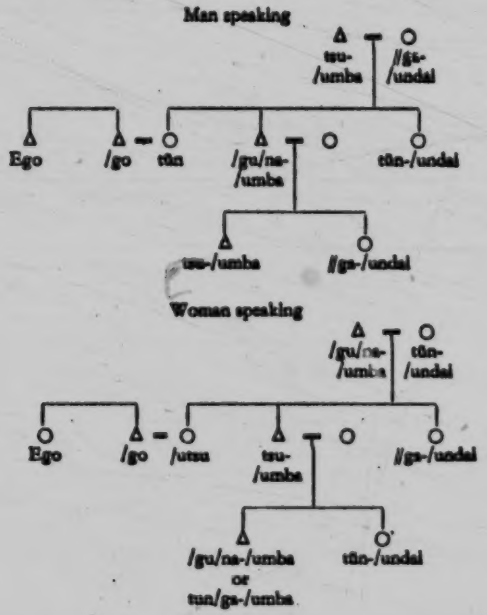
saying, ' That man and I married sisters. We are therefore like brothers.' The same analogy could be made for HuBrWi, */kwi*.

There is a group of affines we call ' secondary ' to distinguish them from primary affines. They differ from primary affines in that terms are not linked to the relationship as terms are to the primary affines but, as in the case of collateral kin, terms may be applied by either the generational or the homonymous method.

Diagram 8

Diagram 8 illustrates the application of terms to secondary affines by the generational method. Ego's BrWi (*tũn* m.s., */ui:u* w.s.) is the point of reference.



The secondary affines comprise the parents, children and siblings of primary affines who are not themselves primary affines, such as SoWiFa, or consanguineous kin, such as grandchildren.

The terms applied to secondary affines are the generational and sibling terms combined with the affinal terms */umba* and */undai*, i.e. *tsu-/umba* and *//gs-/undai*; */gu/na* (or *tun/gs* w.s.)-*/umba* and *tũn-/undai*; */go-/umba* and */kwi-/undai*; *tsi-/umba* and *tsi-/undai*. Though it is strictly correct to use the combined term, many people dropped one or the other part in addressing each other, especially */umba* or */undai* if speaking to children.

The homonymous method takes precedence and terms are applied to secondary affines in the same way as they are applied to name-relatives. In actual practice ego

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601 and most of the persons who eventually become his secondary affines would be name-relatives. They keep whatever term they had and add */umba* or */undai*. Theoretically, if they should not have a name-relationship they would fall back on the generational method.

When terms are applied to secondary affines by the generational method, the primary affine is the point of reference. Ego applies a term to the parent or child of the primary affine which is in the alternate generation terminologically to that of the primary affine. A term in the same generation terminologically as that of the primary affine is applied to the sibling of the primary affine. The list of terms on p. 16 shows the correspondence of the generational terms with the affinal terms. Diagram 8 (p. 17) illustrates this situation.

Consanguineous relatives of ego's may be named for secondary affines as well as primary affines. When they are, ego applies to them the same term which he applies to the secondary affine but drops */umba* and */undai*.

All relatives to whom the generational and sibling terms are applied, except name-relatives (see p. 15), have terms applied to their spouses by ego which are paired with the generational and sibling terms as listed below.

Generational or sibling term for males	*Spouse*	*Generational or sibling term for females*	*Spouse*
tsu	//ga or /utsu (//ga is preferred for FaBrWi or MoBrWi; /utsu is preferred in other relationships)	//ga or di/guma	tsu or tun/ga m.s. (tsu is preferred for FaSiHu and MoSiHu; tun/ga is preferred in other relationships)
/gu/na	tũn	tũn	/gu/nã or tun/ga w.s.
tun/ga w.s. when collateral	tũn w.s.	/gu/na w.s.	tun/ga w.s.
when affine	/kwi w.s.		
/go or tsi	tũn m.s. /utsu w.s.	/kwi or tsi	tun/ga

Part II: Some Aspects of Behaviour as Related to Categories of Kin

Marriage

842 The /Kung know that biological descent is from the father and mother, believing that the father's semen unites with the menstrual blood of the mother to form the child But their language does not emphasize the concept of blood as ours does. A 602 /Kung speaks of a person who has blood ties with himself as being of his own people, emphasizing the phrase in some way, as when we say ' very own '.

582 Marriage with any consanguineous kin is forbidden in /Kung culture. This pro-
684 hibiton is quite strictly obeyed. The very thought of marriage with a parent, offspring or sibling is horrifying to the /Kung. They could hardly be brought to talk about such ' bad things '. They told us about a man who married a woman and her

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daughter at the same time. Although he had blood ties with neither, this was analogous to marrying a daughter and it was thought the man must be mad to do so. Informants said specifically that /Kung do not marry uncles or aunts because they are 'like' parents. Cousins, they say, are 'like' siblings and nephews and nieces 'like' offspring. Marriage with any of these would be shocking.

In the genealogies of about 175 /Kung of the Nyae Nyae region there is no instance of marriage among any of the above-mentioned relatives. However, we heard of two first-cousin marriages among some distant /Kung.

A /Kung must not marry a person who has the same name as his parent. In the two instances we know where this rule was broken the people lied, admitting it only after someone else told us about it. A man must not marry a woman to whom he applies the term */utsu* (this seems to be regarded as a particularly stringent prohibition), nor may a woman marry a man she terms ≠*tum*. We know a man who broke this rule. His marriage with his */utsu* caused a scandal which was still reverberating after two years.

The preferred marriage among /Kung is with a non-consanguineous name-relative whom ego terms */gu!na* (or *tun!ga* w.s.) or *tũn* m.s. SiHu and HuBr are both termed *tun!ga* w.s. and BrWi and WiSi are termed *tũn* m.s. These are considered desirable marriages, especially the sororate, but neither the sororate nor the levirate is obligatory.

Marriages with persons termed */umba* or */undai* are not forbidden. Persons who use the terms *tsu* and *//ga* for each other may marry unless one has the name of the other's parent. Persons who use the sibling terms may marry. These marriages, though not forbidden, are not preferred.

There is no category of persons with whom sexual intercourse is permitted by /Kung custom except the spouse. If illicit sexual intercourse is indulged in, it is carefully concealed.

The Joking Relationship

The joking relationship is an important element in /Kung culture. It is in the foreground of people's minds. The /Kung never once mentioned the generational aspect of their kin terminology system but whenever kinship matters were discussed they spoke of the joking relationship. The /Kung do not train their children to know the precise genealogical position of collaterals,[1] but they teach them the term to use and the joking status of the term. Sometimes an informant would not know whether, for instance, a relative he termed *tsu* was his FaBr, his MoBr or who, but would say that his parents taught him to use that term for the relative and that he must not joke with him.

The joking relationship creates a dichotomy which divides consanguineous kin, affines, and name-relatives into two groups. Every kinship term is associated with a joking status and the culture either allows ego to joke or prohibits him from joking with every person to whom he applies a kinship term.

[1] As to lineal kin, all our informants knew the precise genealogical position and names of their grandparents and grandchildren but many did not know the names of their great-grandparents. (We did not meet any /Kung who had a great-grandchild.)

601 The sibling category is divided on the basis of sex. Ego jokes with a sibling of
602 the same sex as his own and is prohibited from joking with a sibling of opposite
[593] sex. This creates a 'cross' and 'parallel' pattern which is observed in the use of the terms, man-speaking and woman-speaking, among persons classified by name with siblings and among affines of the sibling category.

Sex is not the differentiating factor with respect to the joking relationship among groups of kin apart from siblings. All other consanguineous kin, affines, and name-relatives are grouped in the joking or non-joking dichotomy according to their categorical classification, as follows:

Ego has the joking relationship with anyone of either sex who is classified with himself or herself, to whom ego applies the term */gu!na* (or *tun!ga* w.s.) or *tũn*. Consanguineous kin may be so classified by generation (i.e. cousins) as shown in Diagram 1, or by the factor of the name, i.e. the person for whom ego is named or persons named for ego. Ego has the joking relationship with grandparents and grandchildren unless the factor of the name places ego terminologically in the other, non-joking, division. Among affines, ego has the joking relationship with his or her spouse, and
607 also with BrWi and WiSi, *tũn* m.s., and SiHu and HuBr, *tun!ga* w.s., who are all considered suitable persons to marry. Ego may joke with affines termed */umba* and */undai*, who are in ego's generation terminologically as they are his offspring's spouses' parents. Persons named for any of the above affines would be termed */gu!na* (or *tun!ga* w.s.) or *tũn* by ego and ego could joke with them. He could joke also with any name-relatives to whom he applies these terms.

608 Joking is prohibited with parents and offspring of either sex and with anyone of either sex who is classified with them by being of the same generation, when the generational method of applying terms is used, or by being named for them, when the homonymous method of applying terms is used; or with name-relatives classified in this category. Joking is also prohibited with affines associated with this category, i.e. parents of spouse, and spouses of offspring. The terms which are associated with the non-joking status are the parent–child terms, and *tsu*, *‖ga* or *dilguma*, and the affinal terms, *≠tum*, *tun!ga* m.s. and */utsu*.

When informants were trying to explain the joking relationship to us they had an additional statement to make about the prohibition of joking. They said that, as they must not joke with their parents or offspring, in like manner they must not joke with a person and the offspring of that person. This concept is doubtless associated with the generational method of applying terms. It is not thought to be a contradiction or inconsistency to joke both with a person and the offspring of that person when the homonymous method of applying terms is followed. When a person is named for another his biological position is disregarded and he is terminologically classified with the person for whom he is named. The homonymous method is never applied nor the biological position disregarded in the nuclear family or among primary affines.

Joking, of course, is always reciprocal; if ego may joke with A, A may joke with ego. If B is named for A, the term which ego applies to B always has the same joking status as the term he applies to A. Ego's joking status is the same with both persons of a married couple (cf. p. 18), except in the case of name-relatives with whom he assumes his status individually (cf. p. 15).

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The following table gives the joking status of each term. 601 602

Consanguineous kin			*Affines*		
Ego's generation and alternate generations					
Joking permitted					
(Ego)			Hu	/hoa	
Anyone termed:	/gu/na		Wi	tsau	
	tun/ga	w.s.	DaHuFa, SoWiFa	/umba	
	tĩn		DaHuMo, SoWiMo	/undai	
			Anyone termed:	/gu/na-/umba	
				tun/ga-/umba	w.s.
				tĩn-/undai	
Generations adjacent to ego's					
Joking prohibited					
Fa	ba		HuFa, WiFa, DaHu	≠tum	
Mo	dai		HuMo, WiMo, SoWi	/utsu	
So	/ha		Anyone termed:	tsu-/umba	
Da	≠khai			//ga-/undai	
Anyone termed:	tsu				
	//ga				
	di/guma				

Ego's siblings of same sex as ego, ego's spouse's siblings of same sex as spouse, and the spouses of these siblings

Joking permitted

Elder Br	/go	m.s.	BrWi, WiSi	tĩn	m.s.
Younger Br	tsi	m.s.			
Elder Si	/kwi	w.s.	SiHu, HuBr	tun/ga	w.s.
Younger Si	tsi	w.s.			
Anyone termed:	/go	m.s.	WiSiHu	/go	m.s.
	/kwi	w.s.	HuBrWi	/kwi	w.s.
Any male termed:	tsi	m.s.			
Any female termed:	tsi	w.s.			

Ego's siblings of opposite sex, ego's spouse's siblings of opposite sex from spouse, and the spouses of these siblings

Joking prohibited

Elder Br	/go	w.s.	BrWi, HuSi	/utsu	w.s.
Younger Br	tsi	w.s.			
Elder Si	/kwi	m.s.	SiHu, WiBr	tun/ga	m.s.
Younger Si	tsi	m.s.			
Anyone termed:	/go	w.s.	HuSiHu	≠tum	w.s.
	/kwi	m.s.	WiBrWi	/utsu	m.s.
Any female termed:	tsi	m.s.			
Any male termed:	tsi	w.s.			

The jokes which are permitted among persons who have the joking relationship, 602 and which are avoided by others, are sexual jokes and insults. Anyone may make jokes that are not sexually tinged. Persons who have the joking relationship constantly use it and enjoy it. Men accuse each other of excessive preoccupation with sexual intercourse or of having genital organs of excessive size or abnormal condition (castration or circumcision). Men accuse women with whom they may joke of being

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ugly, slovenly, or wanton. The women retaliate, perhaps accusing the men of being worthy only of castration or of unfaithful wives. We noticed that the /Kung do not call each other sons of bitches. They are not concerned with lineage.

It is not thought proper to make blatant or insulting sexual jokes with old persons. The deference which is shown to aged persons is expressed by moderation, and the joking relationship between an old person and a considerably younger person, especially between grandparents and grandchildren, becomes a cosy friendly intimacy without the sexual emphasis.

Though the /Kung enjoy the joking relationship, it was our impression that their primary concern lay in the prohibition against joking. They said it would be 'madness' to joke with persons they should not joke with. When they meet strangers they do not dare to joke until they find out whether or not it is proper for them to do so. They gave us /Kung names. This placed us in the scheme of things and people could know what their status was with us.

The /Kung say they 'fear' (*koa*) to joke when they should not and they 'fear' (*koa*) the persons with whom joking is forbidden. The word *koa* is the same word that they use when they say they fear a lion or a mamba. They also use it to mean avoid. We think it holds the same combination of fear and respect that our word holds when we say we fear the Lord.

A /Kung told us that joking was not only amusing but that it served a good purpose in teaching people, young men especially, to hold their tempers and to have poise in their social relations. We thought that joking served a good purpose in providing an outlet in laughter for aggression and various social restraints, but we wondered if it had not primarily been developed as a response to restraints upon sexual intercourse. Incest must be a concern among a people who live in small bands of consanguineous kin and close affines, bands which are isolated for the most part within their own territories except for more or less infrequent visits to other bands. The restraints which are considered to be good and necessary may be strengthened by the symbol of avoidance of sexual joking. Respect due to a parent has perhaps come to be associated with this symbol and this may account for joking being restricted with parents of both sexes. It seems that respect in general is not required between siblings; only sexual restraint is required and this is symbolized by the restriction in joking imposed on siblings of opposite sex, whereas ego may joke with a sibling of the same sex. It is possible that the culture allows joking between grandparents and grandchildren (with the rather few exceptions when the factor of the name intervenes to classify them in the non-joking category) because joking is associated with a welcome ease and intimacy of relationship and the great difference in age removes the necessity of symbolizing sexual restraint between them.

The Name-Relationship as a Factor in Social Consolidation

The /Kung believe that the name is somehow a part of the entity of a person and that when one is named for a person one partakes of that person's entity in some way and in some degree. Informants could give us no further elucidation of this belief.

It seems evident that, when incorporated into the system of kinship terminology, the belief has produced the homonymous method of applying terms. It is our conjecture that the homonymous method was added to the system after the generational method had been established.

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method had been established. The /Kō and /Gikwe have not incorporated the belief into their terminological systems except in a very limited way. The /Kung, however, have done so, and appear to have adapted it as logically as possible to the generational method. They apply it only to somewhat distant relationships, namely, grandparents, grandchildren, collaterals, secondary affines, and name-relatives. They do not apply it in the close biological relationships of parent, offspring or sibling or in the primary affinal relationships. Consistency is maintained by the rule that a child must not be named for a parent.

We think that the term *!gu!na* came into the system with the homonymous method and that perhaps it used originally to be applied only to the person for whom ego is named. It is not strictly a kinship term, being composed of translateable words, ' big or old name '. We think it may have been superimposed upon *tun!ga* (which probably comes from the same root as *tūn*). *Tun!ga* may originally have been applied to grandfather, man-speaking as well as woman-speaking, and later *!gu!na* may have become associated with grandfather because so many men are named for their grandfathers. If this is so, an anomalous situation remains unresolved. *Tun!ga* is applied to consanguineous kin and affines and allows joking, woman-speaking. Man-speaking, it is applied only to affines and prohibits joking. If it was originally the term for grandfather, man-speaking, we reason that it should allow joking, and we cannot explain this anomaly.

Whatever may be the answer to these questions, the /Kung have put to good use the belief that persons who have the same name partake of each other's entities. This belief has given them the name-relationship.

It is our impression that the practice of applying terms to name-relatives has appealed to the /Kung and that they have developed it to the full. The /Kung apply a kinship term to every /Kung they meet or almost everyone. /Qui was the only informant who worked with us on this subject who had ever met a /Kung Bushman for whom he had no kinship term. He had met four who came from a distance and whose names were not among those commonly used in the Nyae Nyae region. Ta//ne was one of the names. Gao, who was present, told /Qui that he had a *tsu* named Ta//ne, and he and /Qui nodded together in agreement that they would find a way for /Qui to give Ta//ne a term should they meet again. We know two men who used the term *!go* for each other because each of them had a brother named Dam. The system seems to have been flexible and expansive in the application of terms to name-relatives.

The /Kung are small of stature and non-aggressive. They are timid and apprehensive of strangers. Their word for stranger is *ju dole*. *Ju* means person, *dole* means strange or harmful—one word for both concepts, in the /Kung language, as though they were a single concept. The /Kung have no social organization larger than the band of kin who live together but they have utilized the name-relationship to supply the cohesive factor which is supplied in other societies by various social structures. When a /Kung meets a stranger and finds that he has the same name as one of his kin and bestows a kinship term upon him, he is reassured and feels a sense of belonging.

Gao, the brother of /U, went on an errand for us to Khadum. Khadum is about 115 miles north of Gautscha and about 40 miles north of Cho/ana where we were staying at the time. He had never been to Khadum before, and the /Kung Bushmen who lived

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602 there at once called him *ju dole*. He was in haste to say that he had heard that the father
of one of the people at Khadum had the same name as his father and that another had
609 a brother named Gao. ' Oh,' said the Khadum people, in effect, ' so you are Gao's
/gu!na ', and they took him to their fire and gave him a present of edible gum.

602 The name connexions of the /Kung of Nyae Nyae extend throughout the region.
Thinking of Gautscha Pan as approximately the centre, the name connexions extend
619 about 80 miles to the south, and include the /Kung who live at Gum and at a few
182 small water-holes south of Gum. To the north of Gautscha Pan they extend about 75
miles to Samangaigai, and about 100 miles to Cho/ana, and may be said now to touch
upon Khadum, 115 miles from Gautscha Pan. The country to the west, between
Gautscha Pan and the farmed area of South West Africa, is waterless and uninhabited.
To the east the /Kung name connexions reach some 60 or 80 miles to the cattle posts
of Chwana and Herero at Kai Kai and Kubi, where some /Kung work as herdsmen
and others visit and trade. The /Kung who live in this region are not *ju dole* to each
other. The name-relationship makes them feel they are one people.

619 But there are edges to this sense of being one people. At Karakuwise to the
north-west, about 100 miles away from the centre of the Nyae Nyae area, and
at Nuragas, about 200 miles away, there are /Kung Bushmen. Although none of
the Nyae Nyae people have been there, the people of Nyae Nyae know that those
people speak the same language. However, the Karakuwise and the Nuragas people
are distant, and they are *ju dole*. The people of Nyae Nyae say that they hear that
the people of Nuragas put a strange poison into the pipes they give you to smoke
which makes you become as thin as a stick and then die. The people of Nyae Nyae do
not know the names of the people at Nuragas.

Résumé

000 LA TERMINOLOGIE DE LA PARENTÉ CHEZ LES BOSCHIMANS /KUNG

Les Boschimans /Kung sont des chasseurs et des ramasseurs nomades, qui ont eu très peu de contacts avec d'autres tribus ou avec des Européens; ils vivent en petites bandes de parents consanguins et d'affins proches, qui sont, pour la plupart, isolés à l'intérieur de leurs propres territoires, sauf pour des visites plus ou moins rares par d'autres bandes. Le système /Kung de terminologie de parenté présente deux aspects: d'après l'un, les termes sont appliqués suivant la situation biologique des personnes; d'après l'autre, les personnes sont classées avec d'autres, du fait qu'elles ont les mêmes noms. Du point de vue terminologique, deux personnes quelconques ne peuvent être apparentées simultanément de plus d'une façon, bien qu'elles puissent changer leur rapport terminologique par le mariage, ou, parfois, par le changement de leurs noms. En général, les termes employés indiquent l'âge biologique relatif des personnes qui s'appliquent mutuellement des termes de parenté. Les mêmes termes sont utilisés en s'adressant à une personne et en y faisant allusion. Pour les besoins de l'analyse, on peut distinguer entre deux systèmes de terminologie de parenté: le système A s'applique à des parents consanguins et aux personnes classées avec eux, soit par suite d'un rapport entre leurs noms, soit parce qu'elles se sont mariées avec ces parents. Le système B s'applique aux affins. Il y a trois catégories de termes dans le système A, selon leur emploi entre: (1) père ou mère et enfant; (2) ' siblings ' (enfants de mêmes père et mère), et (3) générations. Dans cette dernière catégorie, la personne plus âgée emploie invariablement une forme diminutive en s'adressant, ou en faisant allusion, à la personne

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plus jeune. Dans les rapports entre parent et enfant, et entre siblings, le lien biologique constitue la seule base de la classification, mais pour tous les autres parents consanguins, ainsi que pour bien d'autres personnes encore, le nom est le facteur qui peut déterminer la nature du rapport terminologique. Le principe fondamental de ce rapport est que les personnes qui partagent le même nom occupent des positions identiques dans certains secteurs du système A. Cette méthode de classification terminologique est connue sous le nom de la méthode *homonyme*, afin de la distinguer de la méthode des *générations*. Lorsque les deux méthodes sont en désaccord, la méthode homonyme prime sur l'autre. Les /Kung n'ont aucun nom de famille; les hommes et les femmes, ainsi que les pères et les enfants, n'ont jamais le même nom. On donne à un enfant le nom d'un de ses parents consanguins ou affins de la première ou de la deuxième génération ascendante. Donc, c'est la personne qui, du point de vue biologique, est la plus âgée, qui détermine le terme qui sera employé; à vrai dire, elle applique le terme à 'ego' (autrement dit au 'moi'), et ego fait de même. Les /Kung font une distinction entre le fait d'avoir reçu le nom d'une autre personne et celui de porter simplement le même nom qu'une autre personne. Quelqu'un à qui l'on donne le nom d'une autre personne est enlevé de sa catégorie biologique et est classé dans la catégorie de la personne dont il porte le nom.

Les personnes peuvent être classées à l'égard d'" ego " dans trois catégories nominatives: père ou mère – enfant, sibling, et la catégorie d'ego; cette dernière catégorie comprend les personnes qui sont classées par nom ou par génération avec ego. Lorsque le nom d'une personne est changé, elle est reclassée et les termes de parenté qui lui sont appliqués sont modifiés en conséquence. Un facteur important dans le rapport des noms est une liste ancestrale de noms auxquels les termes sont liés. Le système B s'applique aux affins. Dès qu'une personne entre dans un des rapports affinaux primaires avec ego, ego abandonne le terme qu'il employait précédemment et adopte le terme qui est lié au rapport affinal, même si cette personne porte le même nom que lui. Les rapports affinaux primaires comprennent les épouses de siblings, l'épouse d'ego, le père et la mère et les siblings de l'épouse d'ego, etc. Les rapports affinaux secondaires comprennent les pères et mères, les enfants et les siblings d'affins primaires, qui ne sont pas, eux-mêmes, des affins primaires. Le mariage avec un parent consanguin, ou avec une personne qui porte le nom de son propre père ou mère, est défendu. Le mariage est contracté de préférence avec une personne qui est apparentée du fait qu'elle porte le même nom, mais qui n'est pas consanguine. Les rapports sexuels ne sont autorisés qu'avec son conjoint. La parenté à plaisanterie est importante et divise les parents consanguins, les affins et les personnes qui sont apparentées du fait qu'elles portent le même nom, en deux groupes. Un individu peut plaisanter, ou non, avec chaque personne à laquelle il applique un terme de parenté et le rapport est toujours réciproque. Les plaisanteries sont ordinairement de nature sexuelle ou injurieuse, mais on montre de la modération et du respect envers les personnes plus âgées. Le rapport, du fait de porter le même nom, constitue un facteur important dans le raffermissement social, car les /Kung appliquent un terme de parenté à chaque /Kung qu'ils rencontrent et les rapports, du fait de porter le même nom, s'étendent sur une région très large.